

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07
/064 W

-----035964 012351Z /66

O R 012125Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1810
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5195

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: AUGUST 1

1. AMID REMARKS OF VARIOUS DELEGATIONS IN PLENARY MORNING OF
AUGUST 1 THAT SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE FINAL
ACT SHOULD SERVE AS A STIMULUS TO COMPLETING THE WORK OF THE
PREPARATORY MEETING, USSR AND NORWEGIAN REPS PLEADED
FOR RAPID ACCEPTANCE OF SPANISH PROPOSAL. SOVIET REP, IN
TWO INTERVENTIONS, CITED RELAXATION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY
RELATIONS IN EUROPE AS PRACTICAL EVIDENCE OF VALUE OF
DECISIONS TAKEN IN CSCE. HE SAW NEW IMPETUS FOR A FRUITFUL
MAIN MEETING IF THE PREPARATORY MEETING COULD TAKE QUICK
AND DECISIVE ACTION IN ADOPTING THE SPANISH PROPOSAL FOR
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COMPROMISE ON REMAINING ISSUES. NOTABLY, HE REFERRED
TO ORGANIZATIONAL POINT 13 AND CITED HIS READINESS TO
GIVE UP SOME OF HIS DESIRED CHANGES SO THAT TEXT MIGHT
BE AGREED, IF OTHERS WOULD DO THE SAME.

2. DESPITE OUR APPEAL IN NATO CAUSCUS LAST SATURDAY THAT
ALLIES NOT INDICATE ACCEPTANCE OF SPANISH PROPOSAL UNTIL

NEEDS OF OTHER ALLIES WERE SATISFIED, NORWEGIAN REP WARNED AGAINST PEDANTIC PROPOSALS FOR MARGINAL CHANGES IN SPANISH TEXT AS UNJUSTIFIED PROLONGATION. IN A STATEMENT CLEARLY AIMED AT WESTERN DELS, HE SAID THE AGENDA, AS NOW SET, TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS CALLED FOR BY THE FINAL ACT; POINT 13 IN THE SPANISH PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR SETTING TIME AND PLACE FOR NEXT MEETING; ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK PROVIDES A GOOD BASIS FOR DEALING WITH TASKS AS OUTLINED IN FINAL ACT AND COMPENSATES FOR SPECIFIC MENTION OF COMPLETION DATE. SECOND SOVIET INTERVENTION DREW ATTENTION TO SIMILARITY BETWEEN NORWEGIAN POSITION AND USSR'S, AND OTHER SOVIET BLOC DELS WELCOMED NORWEGIAN STATEMENT.

3. AFTER THE MORNING SESSION, USDEL INFORMALLY INVITED PARTICIPANTS IN NEW CONTACT GROUP TO MEET AT 2:30 P.M. NEW CONTACT GROUP IS COMPOSED OF THOSE DELEGATIONS WHO HAVE STATED THAT THEY NEED CHANGES IN THE SPANISH COMPROMISE TEXT (BELGRADE 5166). THOSE INVITED WERE USSR, GDR, UK, BELGIUM, FRANCE, NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL, AND ROMANIA. FRG AND ITALY SAID THEY WERE UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO ATTEND AND DID SO. GROUP WAS ALSO JOINED LATER BY POLAND.

4. THE CONTACT GROUP WHICH MET UNDER U.S.
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CHARIMANSHIP TODAY, IMMEDIATELY AGREED THAT ORGANIZATIONAL POINT 13 WAS THE ONLY REMAINING PROBLEM AREA AND DECIDED TO CONCENTRATE ON IT. GROUP FIRST CONCLUDED THAT MAIN MEETING SHOULD BEGIN ON OCTOBER 4 VICE SEPTEMBER 27, AND LEAVE DECEMBER 22 AS THE CLOSING TARGET DATE. THIS AUTOMATICALLY RAISED QUESTION OF ALSO ADJUSTING DECEMBER 9 CUT-OFF DATE FOR WORKING BODIES. SOVIETS SAID IF OCTOBER 4 WAS OPENING DATE OF MEETING, THEY COULD ACCEPT DECEMBER 9 AS CLOSING DATE FOR THE WORKING BODIES, SINCE THIS WOULD BE ONE WEEK LESS FOR THE WORKING BODIES THAN WITH THE SEPTEMBER 27 OPENING. (THIS WOULD MEAN A WORKING PERIOD FOR THE WORKING BODIES OF ALMOST 8 WEEKS.)

5. CONTACT GROUP THEN BEGAN ON THE FINAL SENTENCE OF POINT 13 (CLOSING DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING). SOVIET REP OFFERED TO BEING THAT SENTENCE WITH "IN ANY CASE" BUT INSISTED THAT SOVIETS COULD NOT ACCEPT A NEGATIVE FORMULATION. COMMENT: MOST DELEGATIONS BELIEVE THAT THIS ADDITION NARROWS THE AMBIGUITY SLIGHTLY AND IS A DISTINCT IMPROVEMENT. END COMMENT. ROMANIAN REP SUGGESTED; "IN ANY CASE, THE MEETING WILL TERMINATE

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ITS WORK AFTER HAVING ADOPTED ITS CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND
HAVING SET THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING."
FRENCH REP PROPOSED A VARIANT ON ROMANIAN FORMULATION:
"IN ANY CASE BEFORE TERMINATING ITS WORK, THE MEETING
MUST ADOPT ITS CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND FIX THE DATE
AND PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING." SOVIETS SHOWED
NO INTEREST IN THESE FORMULATIONS, BUT DID NOT FINALLY
REJECT EITHER ONE.

6. CONTACT GROUP THEN TURNED TO THE THIRD SENTENCE
OF POINT 13 AND RELATED ISSUES IN THE SECOND AND FOURTH
SENTENCES (CLOSING DATE FOR WORKING BODIES; CONDITIONS
FOR SUBMISSION OF REPORTS TO PLENARY; CREATION OF
DRAFTING GROUPS). FIRST SOVIET TACK WAS TO INSIST ON
FIRM CLOSING LANGUAGE FOR THE WORKING BODIES ("WILL
COMPLETE THEIR WORK") AND TO OFFSET THIS BY OFFERING
TO ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PLENARY COULD
SET UP MULTIPLE DRAFTING GROUPS. CONTACT GROUP THEN
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ADJOURNED TO ATTEND OPENING OF AFTERNOON PLENARY WITH THE FEELING THAT THE ATMOSPHERE OFFERED REASON TO HOPE FOR SOME RESULTS FROM A CONTINUATION. THE PLENARY THEREFORE TOOK A TWO-HOUR "COFFEE BREAK" SO THAT THE CONTACT GROUP COULD CONTINUE.

7. NEXT SESSION OF CONTACT GROUP CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THIRD SENTENCE AND RELATED PROBLEMS, AND IN ITS EARLY STAGE PRODUCED A FLOW OF FORMULATIONS DESIGNED TO SOFTEN THE "WILL COMPLETE THEIR WORK" LANGUAGE. A NUMBER OF THESE CONCENTRATED ON GETTING A DEFINITE COMMITMENT THAT DRAFTING GROUPS (4TH SENTENCE) WOULD BE SET UP TO REPLACE THE WORKING BODIES. ALL OF THESE WERE REJECTED AND WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THE SPANISH SENTENCE, "FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE PLENARY MAY SET UP DRAFTING GROUPS" WAS REDUNDANT IN THAT IT ADDED NOTHING TO THE PLENARY'S INHERENT POWER TO SET UP ANY WORKING GROUP BY CONSENSUS, THE SOVIETS ONLY OFFERED TO DROP THE SENTENCE, NOT TO IMPROVE IT. THE SOVIETS THEN SAID THEIR INSTRUCTIONS REQUIRED A FIRM CLOSING DATE FOR THE WORKING BODIES, AND THAT NO FORMULATION WHICH DID NOT PROVIDE FOR THIS COULD BE ACCEPTED. AFTER SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION SOVIET REP (VORONTSOV) OFFERED A NEW SENTENCE TO REPLACE THE SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES OF POINT 13: "FROM 21 NOVEMBER TO 9 DECEMBER THE PLENARY WILL RECEIVE FINAL REPORTS FROM THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES IN ORDER TO GIVE IT ENOUGH TIME TO DRAFT THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT." WESTERN DELS PLUS ROMANIA MADE CONCERTED EFFORTS TO REMOVE OR REPLACE THE WORD "FINAL," AND OTHERWISE RECAST THE STATEMENT, BUT ALL THESE ATTEMPTS WERE REJECTED. THE SOVIETS STATED THAT TO THEM THIS SENTENCE MEANT THAT THE WORKING BODIES WOULD FINISH THEIR WORK BY DECEMBER 9.

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COMMENT: THE SOVIET INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT MADE IN AN INFORMAL GROUP HAS NO OFFICIAL STATUS. WITHOUT THAT INTERPRETATION, WE BELIEVE THE SOVIET SENTENCE LEAVES THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WORKING BODIES COULD CONTINUE TO EXIST, FOR INSTANCE, TO CONTINUE A THROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BUT COULD NOT REPORT. END COMMENT. THERE SEEMED TO BE NO CHANCE OF FURTHER PROGRESS TODAY, SO THE CONTACT GROUP ADJOURNED AGREEING TO MEET AGAIN AFTER TOMORROW'S MORNING PLENARY.

8. AT PRESENT, THE SOVIETS, THE UK, AND FRANCE EVIDENTLY HAVE VERY FIRM INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH WOULD PREVENT AGREEMENT ON ANY PRESENT FORMULATIONS, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THE TWO KEY SENTENCES OF POINT 13 AND TO PROBE THE SOVIET POSITION.

9. THE PLENARY RESUMED ONLY TO RAISE A GLASS OF CHAMPAGNE TO THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF HELSINKI AND TO AGREE TO RESUME TOMORROW.

10. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TODAY ANNOUNCED THAT TECHNICAL STAFF COULD NOT BE RETAINED BEYOND END OF THIS WEEK. THIS MEANS PREPARATORY MEETING MUST EITHER CONCLUDE THIS WEEK OR RECESS UNTIL SEPTEMBER.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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